000 describe the conditions of the Lolo in the Ta-liang and Hsiao-liang Shan area.

133 It has been mentioned before that the main range of Ta-liang Shan is oriented from north to south. On the eastern side of the southernmost mountain range are eight sections of small ridges, which consitute the foothills. These start from Ta-ku Tui in the north and extend southward to the banks of the Chin-sha Chiang, all in an easterly direction, to give Liang Shan the shape of a multiple-legged insect; they all end at the side of the Hsi-su Ho. These eight ridges are commonly known as Pa Sai. The southern section of the Pa Sai faces the river with its steep overhanging cliffs, while its northern section connects with the Lung-t'ou Shan where there are many precipices and ancient forests. During the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties the 175 Chinese emperors made great efforts to develop this frontier 648 area. From 1796 until 1821, Chinese influence gradually reached the eastern part of Huang-mao Kang. In 1838 a rebellion started. The Lolo occupied the Ta-ku Tui and Hsiao-ku Tui, and the Chinese army had to retreat to Shan-Leng Kang, where they constructed a fortress for self-defense. They also established an outpost at Ma-ching-tzu as a support for Shan-Leng Kang. All Han-Chinese who lived in places west of Hsi-su Ho, such as Mu-kou P'o and La-mi, withdrew successively to the east bank of the river, and a Lolo t'u-szu [native chief], or Yang T'u-szu, was established at Ch'ien-wan-kuan [4] to hold together the Lolo in areas both near and distant.

175 At the northern end of Pa Sai the Han-Chinese established 439 a trading post in order to expand their influence westward. North of Shan-Leng Kang is Lan-pa-tzu and further north is 648 Ku-niu Pa. Both these villages can be reached by climbing the mountains from Hsi-ning on the border of P'ing-shan county. From Huang-ts'ao P'ing eastward in Ma-pien county is Yu-cha P'ing which the Han-Chinese have developed for cultivation. During the period of prosperity in the Ch'ing dynasty a large trading post was established there for trade with the Lolo. Further northward lies the Yen-feng Shan area where there are dangerous precipices, overhanging cliffs, old forests, and barren wilderness inaccessible to the Han-Chinese.

131 The northernmost entrance to Ta-liang Shan is Wa-hai. It is a part of the Ta-liang Shan area and occupies quite a wide territory about several tens of li from east to west. Wa-hai is the only entrance to Ta-liang Shan from Ma-pien and O-pien. The distance from Wa-hai to either county seat is about 200 li.

121 across the Chin-sha Chiang we reached directly Ping-i Ch'ang (west of Ping-shan), which is on the main road to the southwestern frontier of Szechwan. We did not see any Lolo on this
103 road. Ping-i Ch'ang was formerly known as Man-i Szu [the barbarians' sub-district], a name which is still used today. But although the name remains, it has lost its connotation because this whole area has been occupied by Han-Chinese.
800 Ping-i Ch'ang is located at the river junction between the Chung-tu Ho and the Chin-sha Chiang. About 3 li upstream is Shih-chio Ying, where the Hsi-ning Ho enters the Chin-sha Chiang. Sometimes when the water is high it can be reached by steamboats, and in ordinary times by wooden boats. It is the upstream terminus of the Chin-sha Chiang [6]. Therefore, Ping-i Ch'ang is the key of land and sea communications, the gateway to the west part of P'ing-shan , and also the main post from the hinterland to the border area. The city streets are built along the mountain and supported by large columns standing on hewn rocks. The floor of these houses is supported by wooden pillars, which sometimes are several tens of feet high so that water could not reach the roofs even at flood time.
439 Salt, clothes, and other goods imported from outside are all unloaded and transported by burden-carriers to frontier areas for trade with the Lolo. The Lolo use lump silver as their
[436] currency. The silver is weighed by ounces or in ingots, and can be exchanged at Ping-i Ch'ang. We can see that trade between the Han-Chinese and Lolo has already assumed great significance here.

133 Traveling about 50 li from Shih-chio Ying upstream on the Hsi-ning Ho, one reaches Hsia-ch'i. The Hsi-ning Ho originates from the eastern flank of Huang-mao Kang and runs across Lan-pa-tzu, Chung-shan P'ing, and Lo-san Ch'i of Lei-po county to Hsi-ning on the border of P'ing shan county. The whole course is more than 100 li. Another 85 li from Hsi-ning it reaches Hsia-ch'i.

439 Hsia-ch'i, located on the southern bank of the Hsi-ning Ho, is the largest town along the river with a population of about 4,000. In the town are stores and restaurants. The Lolo in both neighboring and far away districts all come here to trade. Not far away across the river is the boundary of Ma-pien county. The Lolo in Ma-pien also come here frequently. Further upstream on the Hsi-ning Ho from Hsia-
361 ch'i, all the villages and outposts on both banks of the river are Han-Chinese, while high up on the mountains are the Lolo. So this area is inhabited heterogeneously by the Han-Chinese and Lolo.

682 accidentally shot to death by Ta-i. According to Lolo custom,
614 a clan member who kills another has to pay with his life. So
535 Pieh-t'u killed a cow to entertain all the clan members who
[762] agreed to Ta-i's death. Ta-i tried to commit suicide by taking poison, but it failed to kill him. Soon afterwards, Pieh-t'u suddenly died, and Ta-i was spared his life as no one really wanted to force him to die. In July this year, a small group
614 of soldiers stationed at Lei-po came to Ma-liu Wan to cut wood
535 for fuel, but the Lolo thought that the soldiers came to search
721 for opium because the village is an important opium trading
[439] post between the Han-Chinese and Lolo. As a result of this misunderstanding, members of the Li-ch'ü branch took up arms under Ta-i's leadership to defend themselves from the soldiers and a conflict ensued. Since then the Lolo in Ma-liu Wan village have been hostile to the soldiers, and there have been several skirmishes in which Ta-i was always the leader. He, too, has managed to settle clan affairs and has undertaken negotiations with the Han-Chinese. Thus he is ascending very rapidly to the leadership of the Li-ch'ü branch in Ma-liu Wan. It is evident that the Lolo position of leadership depends entirely upon the individual's personal competence, especially his ability to assemble all the clan members and to issue orders for combat, immediately after which he will be recognized by the public as their leader and protector.

614 Although they are dispersed in distant villages, members of the same branch still recognize their clan relationship and maintain friendly intercourse. There can be no feud among members of the same clan as feuds are fought only be-
[628] tween different clans. The author's trip to Ma-liu Wan was just about at the time when Li-ch'ü Ta-i had these feuds with the Han-Chinese soldiers and people. So the author was advised to be cautious. But our Lolo headman-protector, Li-ch'ü Ta-chi, assured us that there would be no danger as he was related to Ta-i as younger uncle (1) in the same branch of

> 1. Ed., lit., "father's younger brother," which refers to a person of the father's generation who is "younger," by kinship reckoning, than the father, but is not necessarily a blood brother of the father himself.

the clan, and both being well-known black Lolo leaders, they
574 would respect each other's "face." As expected, when we arrived at Shan-wang Miao, the three white Lolo who guarded

were able to deal with them effectively; otherwise we would have been hard put to defend ourselves even if we had sticks in our hands.

[40] At the back wall of Yo-ha's house are located the family's living quarters, consisting of a rectangular room built entirely of wood. The roof is also made of wood with stones on top to protect it from wind and snow. The stones are arranged in an orderly and pleasing manner on the roof. There is a wooden door in the room, but no window. Upon entering the room, one immediately feels suffocated in the nose and mouth by widespread clouds of smoke from the fire in the hearth. The construction of the hearth, which is located slightly to the left of the center of the room, is very simple. A round pit about three feet in diameter is dug in the ground for building the fire. Three stone slabs are placed in a triangle over this pit to support the large iron pan used for cooking. The pan, round at the bottom, is imported from the Han-Chinese. The fire is lighted by striking a flint with a piece of iron, but actually the fire in the pit is never allowed to go out and it burns day and night. The center of all family activities, the hearth plays an important part in the Lolo household, as is shown later in our discussion of their family life.

When we entered the house, we were welcomed by Yo-ha and invited to sit at the back of the hearth by the rear wall. This is the seat of honor for guests. Yo-ha himself took the host's seat on the left side of the hearth. At the back of the host's seat, or sometimes on the left side of the room divided by a wooden partition, were the family sleeping quarters, which also served as the storage place for precious articles and provisions. In front of the hearth stood a wooden cabinet, wooden shelves, water pails, and all the food utensils. Under the shelves were firewood and straw. The right side of the room was divided by a bamboo fence into two sections: a grindstone, a mortar, wooden pails, bamboo baskets, and other articles in the rear half; and two yellow oxen in a wooden pen in the front half. This was the arrangement of Yo-ha's house.

Most of the houses in Ta-liang Shan are the same as Yo-ha's, but there are a few exceptions. For example, the house of our headman-protector, Ta-chi, is well known in the Liang Shan area as a Sinicized Lolo house. It has brick walls, a tiled roof, and an arched stone gate with Chinese characters carved on the top and sides. Inside the gate are two sections, the front being a Chinese-style courtyard with animal pens

241 Besides corn and buckwheat, other agricultural products include oats, potatoes, green vegetables, and turnips, each of which has its proper harvest season. Among them, [252] oats are considered the most precious. The Lolo usually grind them into flour and mix it with water to eat on a trip. Potatoes are produced in large quantities to be used as auxiliary food.

241 Lolo agriculture is aimed at self-sufficiency only. 461 The people will be quite satisfied if production each year is enough to meet the demands of consumption. The Lolo do not 311 work hard on the farms, nor do they want to expand the cultivated acreage or to improve agricultural techniques. So the good earth of Liang Shan still remains a tract of barren land.

[423] Every Lolo family has its own cultivated field, which 237 constitutes its basic property. The wealth of a black Lolo 556 household, however, is measured by the herd of animals it owns. Animals are also raised by the rich white Lolo. Domesticated 233 animals consist largely of sheep and goats, pastured by house- 343 hold slaves. The sheep pen is inside the walls of the house but sometimes also outside as a separate unit. In spring and summer when the weather becomes warm, a round bamboo stable is built on the mountain slope outside the village to house the flocks of sheep. These are watched over day and night by household slaves. Besides grazing, the sheep are fed salt water twice or thrice a month to stimulate the growth of wool, used mainly as material for making capes. Shearing is performed three times a year between the third and tenth month; 236 the wool cut in the third month is the best in quality. In the 527 hot seventh month, people from villages in different places 571 drive their flocks to Huang-mao Kang, partly to cool off and partly to cut the wool. At that time different clans and villages assemble to feast and play together after shearing. They exchange gifts and food, trade or barter, and talk and laugh in these semisocial gatherings. It is a very grand affair, popularly called the "wool fair."

231 Pigs are also raised in flocks of ten or more and tended by female household slaves, but pig breeding is not as [237] popular as sheep breeding. After the pigs are killed, the ● 439] bristles are shaved off from head and body for export to the Han-Chinese territory.

The Lolo also raise the common yellow oxen in herds of as many as several dozens. They are driven to the pastures outside the village in the early morning and returned to the stable in the evening. The oxen can be used for plowing and are more expensive than sheep and pigs. The Lolo do not

groom's families is a kind of economic trade. Ordinarily relatives and friends also exchange gifts during each other's visits. This custom helps to adjust the distribution of products and handicrafts in the society. During the inspection team's stay at Liang Shan, except for a few poor white Lolo families who asked for silver in exchange for food, the majority of Lolo families all voluntarily prepared food for us by killing oxen, sheep, chickens, and pigs, or by boiling corn and potatoes, the kind of entertainment given us varying with the economic situation of each family. The inspection team usually estimated the amount of expenses incurred by the host and then gave him in return such gift articles as cloth, salt, scissors, mirrors, needles, and thread.

The distribution of wealth and goods among the Lolo was originally based on the principle of entertaining strangers and exchanging gifts. Since their contact with the Han-Chinese, however, a trade system has gradually developed. The medium of exchange is silver, measured by the ounce or in ingots. This traditional Han-Chinese system has now penetrated deeply into the Lolo community and is used consistently. Lolo currency is quite influential in the border area. Silver coins are still widely circulated in P'ing-shan and P'ing-i Ch'ang east of the Lolo territory.

The Lolo go to Han-Chinese cities or towns to buy commodities, the main items being salt, wine, cloth, and other articles of daily use. Lei-po, P'ing-pien, and Hsi-ning are all important trading towns for the Han-Chinese and the Lolo, who continuously [68] visit this area. The twelve En-cha branches use Ma-pien and Hsi-ning as their trading centers, while the A-lo, A-cho, and the nine Sinicized Lolo families trade mostly in Lei-po.

The Lolo territory being beyond the control of the county government in border areas, the Lolo have been engaged in opium planting in recent years. The opium is exported and sold in the Han-Chinese territory with enormous profits. Therefore the Lolo's economic conditions are above those of the average Han-Chinese. The Lolo use the revenue from opium to trade for guns and silver in the Han-Chinese territory. In the early years of the Republic, when Yang Ch'un-fang's troops were stationed at Lei-po, they sold guns to the Lolo for a huge profit. Since then arms have flowed continuously into Liang Shan with the result that today nearly every Lolo household has a gun. As the circulation of silver money is prohibited by the government in the Han-Chinese territory, the ruffians there are engaged in the lucrative

439 business of transporting the contraband silver pieces to Liang Shan. From the Lolo point of view, opium alone is enough to exchange for white silver, guns, and all the commodities of daily use.

439 464 To plant opium, the Lolo have to select a fertile field. An increase in the production of opium causes a corresponding decrease in agricultural products. The planting of opium reduces soil fertility and the land gradually becomes impoverished. [567] Because of the scarcity of manpower, the Lolo kidnapped Han-Chinese from the border area as slaves to engage in large-scale production of opium. There is a fixed time for the planting of opium and its harvest. During this period, they import from the border region a large Han-Chinese labor force, which they send out of the Lolo territory after the job is done. Once I met an old man of about fifty at a teahouse in Ma-liu Wan. From the conversation, I learned that during March, 1943, the old man and over 80 other Han-Chinese laborers had entered the Lolo area with armed protection by black Lolo leaders to gather the opium crop at the northern part of the Ma-ching-tzu area. Their wages were paid according to the [465] amount of opium they harvested. For every eight ounces of opium, one ounce was paid as wages. Every day the old man harvested about 20 ounces of opium and earned a wage of two and a half ounces. After harvest the opium was exported for 439 sale in the Han-Chinese territory. At that time opium was sold in the Lolo region at the rate of one piece of silver, or about 1,000 dollars in Chinese national currency, for every three ounces of opium. When it was imported into Han-Chinese territory, one ounce was worth 600 Chinese dollars and three ounces 1,800 Chinese dollars. The profit being almost double, the ruffians in the border area would risk their lives to go to the Lolo region to import opium. When the inspection team stayed at Liang Shan, many Lolo thought that we were opium merchants. This shows how popular the opium trade is between the Han-Chinese and the Lolo.

567 721 The slaves are a part of Lolo property and can be traded as commodities at a market price. They are mostly Han-Chinese, newly captured from the Chinese territory. It is a common practice for the Lolo to capture and kill Han-Chinese in the border area, such incidents having occurred quite frequently in the border districts of Lei-po, Ma-pien, P'ing-shan, and O-pien, especially [69] in Lei-po. Many areas visited by the author, such as the southern part of Hsi-ning, Man-chi K'ou on the border of Lei-po and P'ing-shan, Wu-tzu P'o between Huang-lang and Ching-k'ou, and the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

## CHAPTER XI

### THE FARMSTEAD IN THE VALLEY

576 THE lantern display was finished about midnight. Soon after we lay down on the floor and went to sleep. The night was very cold, and some of the people felt it a good bit. The next morning we were up at half-past six. Going outside, we found the whole country-side white with snow. The rule among these hill-people is that if you have had supper at a house you leave before breakfast the next morning. There is always one meal free for any who come, but, except in special cases, not more. Following the custom of the country, we left early, hoping to get breakfast somewhere farther on. We passed a number of villages on our way and saw many fine trees. One who only travels on the main roads of Yunnan sadly misses the trees. Sylvan scenery, of which Lord Beaconsfield rightly said one never tires, is almost absent. Huge cliffs, limestone rocks, rushing mountain torrents abound, but these do not make up for the absent trees. Here in Nosuland we found many trees of great size. The war against these trees has also commenced. Many of them are cut down and sawn into huge, heavy coffin boards, which are carried down to the Yangtse and then sold to the Chinese. They are then transported to the busy centres of North Yunnan, and command heavy prices. As the Nosu go in for cremation and set no store by these insanely heavy coffins, the trees have had a long respite. Now the Chinese have denuded their own hills of most of the large trees they

313 439

[764]

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4



have gone farther afield, and are willing to pay the Nosu very generously for the wood grown north of the Yangtse. 313 439

Why the Chinese set such store by these huge, ungainly coffins one does not know. Why a dead man should be happier in a coffin with sides in parts a foot thick rather than in one with sides an inch thick passes a Westerner's comprehension. And when you see countrymen toiling up the seven or eight thousand feet from the river to the hills near Chaotung, bearing on their backs huge boards of immense weight, which tire them and bring on premature old age, you wish that the Chinese in their funeral customs were not so bound down in slavery to old-age customs. Possibly with the changes which are now rapidly coming over the land reform in burial matters may make some headway. We were sorry to see this demand for large coffins causing the cutting down of many of the finest trees in the woods of Nosuland.

With boots and stockings soaking, through walking in the snow, we at last reached a farmhouse in the See-tieh Valley. Here lived an old man well versed in Nosu folk-lore and tradition. We had arranged to stay a few days at his farm, hoping to gather a lot of valuable information about the hill-people. The old man's name was Ah-Pooh, and his wife's name was Ah-Hleh. A number of men were waiting at the outer gateway of the farm, and as we passed by they roared with laughter at the strange black-bear being who had come to be a guest at Ah-Pooh's home. We also joined in the laughter, and felt quite safe with folk who could laugh so heartily. I had never suspected that a suit of black clothing would cause such fun. If one could always rely on such a suit producing 574

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4



231 thrush. Some of these thrushes which one sees hung up outside a house sing as if they would burst their throats. 231 Soldiers are very fond of rearing these thrushes, and at first 541 one was pleased to see these men enjoying the song of these magnificent songsters. It was, however, a shock, later on, to find out that the birds were not kept for their song but for their fighting powers. Matches are arranged between different thrushes, and sometimes large sums of money are laid on the result. If you see a thrush in a cage and ask if it is a fine bird, meaning, of course, can it sing well, the answer will be given, not at all in reference to its powers of song, but solely to its record in beating other thrushes in fierce fight. There is another little bird, about the size of a large tit, which is the most renowned of the bird fighters. These birds are really vicious fighters, and will frequently kill one another in their arranged combats. Large prices are paid for one of these little birds that has been the victor in many combats. The district of the famous salt wells in the province of Szechuan is noted for its number of fighting birds. The birds are taken there from other parts of West China, as around the wells there is not a great deal of trees to attract feathered life.

276 The friendly widow got up late. I have a suspicion that 249 she smoked opium, and in consequence was not ready to rise 648 at the same time as normal folk. Years ago opium was 439 practically unknown in Nosuland, and the hillmen despised the Chinese for being such slaves to the drug. But since the anti-opium campaign has been so vigorously pushed in West China, many Chinese have gone across to Nosuland and, by large money payments to the chiefs, have received permission to cultivate the poppy. When the poppy-juice

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4



has been gathered in the drug is either openly or secretly taken into Chinese territory, where it commands a high price. The profits of this illicit trade are very large. When warned by some friends that this policy of permitting the poppy to be grown in Nosuland would certainly lead to complications with the Chinese officials, the hillmen replied that in such a case they would take the growers of the drug and hand them over to the proper authorities, to be dealt with as they should deem proper. These Nosu chiefs do not understand the trend of affairs in China, and have not seen that as long as the opium is grown in Nosuland there can be no permanent stoppage of the trade in the drug in the parts of China bordering on their land. And they do not see that if the Chinese Government is determined to stop the use of the drug, they will certainly take steps to prevent the Nosu chiefs from pursuing the policy that is being now carried out. Such a determination might give the Chinese officials the excuse to make a determined effort once for all to subdue Nosuland, and bring it under the same control as the districts which in Yunnan and Kweichow used to be entirely under the domination of the different Nosu chiefs, the Earth Eyes. There are many Chinese who long for the opening up of Nosuland for colonisation, and they would enthusiastically support any efforts to subdue the hillmen. It is to be hoped that the hillmen will be wise in time, and not, for the sake of a little money, sell the safety of their hill land.

When Ah-ku came out of her room in the stone tower she went straight to the fire, and had a good smoke with her five-feet-long pipe before she did anything else. As soon, however, as she had satisfied her gnawing craving for the minor drug, and was so restored to the condition of her usual

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4



over, looked very grand. On the other side there were some 000
rocks which were very difficult to negotiate. There was scarcely a trace of a road anywhere, and had there not been trusty guides with us, who knew the way well, we should have been unable to find our way. Our men were in a lively mood as we travelled along. They were hooting and shouting and giving their war-whoops as if they scented a fray not far off. The people living on the other side of the valley really thought we were a band of raiders on the warpath, and some actually ran away from the anticipated danger.

We crossed now into the lands of another clan, the Ah-liu, 484
and stayed a short time at a village where the chief's residence was. A number of people came out to see us and to ask a lot of questions. Some asked if Mr Long and the others followed the foreigner because of fear, or from some other reason. Mr Long replied that he followed the foreigner because he was such a wonderful man that he could go anywhere, even to heaven. Our men were in the mood for getting fun out of anything.

We were now approaching the danger zone, concerning which we had received warning on two or three occasions. In view of the possible kidnapping, a number of armed men had joined us. Others again, with loads of mountain herbs, [439]
which they were going to sell to Chinese from south of the river, came into our party that they might take advantage of our escort. Shouts from a distant hill told us that our See-tieh friends were not failing us. Vri-ntee and his brother were bringing up their forces, determined to see their adopted brother, Nhe-jah-jah, safely through the dangerous district into Chinese territory. By the time we reached the top of the second hill we were quite a formidable band, and there were

574 cow. The master then assembles the Wa-tzu under his control, and all enjoy the feast together.

437 Currency issued by the Central Government, whether it be paper
439 money or coins, has never been used in the I region of Liang-shan. The Wa-cha chia in the vicinity of Chao-chiieh have recently begun to use "kang yang" (half-dollar silver coins) cast in Yünnan province. This is, however, evidently an exception. Commerce among the I consists mainly in the exchange of goods, but silver is also acceptable (either in bars or in small pieces). Although there are only very few implements in a Hêh-I family, it will usually have a teng-tzu /scales/ for weighing silver and a ta-ch'eng /big steelyard/ for weighing salt lumps. Salt lumps and cloth are daily necessities, and are therefore preferred even to silver. The merchants often used silver in traveling in Liang-shan, but after the nationalization of silver dollars, our only alternative was to take along salt and cloth, which added greatly to the burden of our luggage. But its volume diminished as we traveled, and was reduced to nothing toward the end of the journey. With eleven people in our travel group, we took along 50 pieces of cloth, six tubes of salt (a total of /136/ 137 chin /Chinese catties/), some needles, woolen thread, woolen yarn, little mirrors, small handkerchiefs, etc. Places such as Hsi-ch'ang, Lei-po, and the cities and markets close to the I region weave a type of close-knitted rough cotton, intended especially for sale to the I. The width of this material is about 9 inches. The I do not measure cloth with linear rulers, but by the "square," obtained by folding one corner of the cloth diagonally across to the other corner. One piece (roll) of cloth contains 26 such squares, and a bundle of ten pieces weighs about 8 chin. There are many rolls of white and dyed cloth on the Hsi-ch'ang market. The I have no use for white materials, and so we buy only dyed cloth, blue (coarse blue) being the most popular color to take to Liang-shan. One of the methods for supplying the markets is to obtain large quantities of white cotton from the country and have them dyed the desired shade at one of the many dyer's shops in the streets of Hsi-ch'ang. A certain number of the more civilized Hêh-I, who have enjoyed higher standards of living, no longer care for this type of rough material. They want the finer cloth ordinarily used by the Chinese. Salt lumps come from the white salt wells of Yen-yüan hsien. Since they are decocted in pincers-shaped pots found in that area, they have the form of filter cups. Each tube of salt weighs about 30 chin. Other necessities of the I are needles and thread for which they are always asking Chinese visitors. Even the Chinese

captives made into Wa-tzu have become assimilated in this respect. 437
They are hardly to be blamed, for the scarcity of clothing in Liang- 439
shan makes it necessary to mend tears in the clothes immediately. In addition to these necessary articles, the I like everything used by the Chinese. They have never seen and long for many of the articles which we consider necessities. Naturally the feelings of the women are particularly acute in this respect. It is hence advisable to take along some of these dainty articles in order to create good will. The women like small mirrors best. They are also very pleased to have woolen yarns and silk threads as adornment on their heads, and will jump with joy if given an ordinary woman's handkerchief.

Although currency is not used in trade among the I, there is 435
nevertheless a fixed price for each article, with its value in terms of silver. As a Heh-I host always puts up a front and never asks directly for remuneration for food and lodging, the guest must himself prepare 431
the salt and cloth to present as gifts. After a night's lodging it is best to present these gifts in the early morning before breakfast, so as to relieve the host of all doubts and in this way to receive an even greater consideration. The quantity of gifts depends upon the type of reception. The I always entertain strangers as a group, /137/ no matter how big it is, for example, they will slaughter a sheep for a group of ten people or just for one person. The amount of remuneration has nothing to do with the number of people involved. Buckwheat buns, potatoes, etc., are not of great worth in the I region, and so the remuneration depends mainly on the nature of the animal slaughtered--whether it is a sheep, pig, or chicken. The guest's payment should equal the amount spent 435
by the host for the feast or preferably exceed it by 50 per cent. Otherwise the host will show displeasure in his face if not in actual words. If one is ignorant of the local market price, by watching the words and expressions of the host--whether he is full of thanks, merely thankful, or cold to the point of displeasure--he can judge whether the gifts are too elaborate, just right, or perhaps too meager. Thus he may acquire a criterion for later occasions. For example, if at one place the price of a sheep is eight taels and that of a piece of cloth two taels, then the remuneration for a sheep reception should be six pieces of cloth, or, to please the host even more, an equivalent amount of salt, which is about four or five chin to one piece of cloth. In spite of the low price of salt in Hsi-ch'ang, travelers prefer to give cloth instead of salt because of the enormous transportation costs of the latter. The I region is however in great need of salt. When the remuneration paid in cloth